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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland.* Weitere Forschungen zu den "Vorgriechischen Ortsnamen" von AUGUST FICK. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1909. 8vo, vi + 53 pp.

Readers of our review in *Class. Phil.* 1909, p. 206, may remember that in his *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Fick undertook to distinguish in the pre-Hellenic names of Greek localities the languages of various ancient tribes and races, such as Hittites, Kydonians, Pelasgians, Thracians, etc. In the present monograph, an "aftermath" (as it is called in the preface) to the former investigation, the races and languages concerned are more definitely divided into two groups, viz.:

I. Hittites ("Hattiden") in Europe and Asia Minor, subdivided into

a) Hittite aboriginals of Europe, consisting of (1) Pelagonians, Pelasgians, Tyrsenians, in the eastern portion of the Balkan peninsula; and (2) Lelegans. The latter, originally settled—according to Fick—in the northwestern regions of the Balkan peninsula, were pressed back by the Illyrians toward the east of the Balkans and from there spread to the Greek islands and to the western shore of Asia Minor.

b) Hittites of Asia Minor, including (1) the Hignetes in Rhodes; (2) the Eteocretans; (3) the Lycians; (4) the Carians, Lydians, and Mysians.

II. "Danubians," a name coined by Fick for the Phrygio-Thracian tribes settled at this early period along the banks of the Danube. The Danubians belong to the Indo-European family and are divided into (1) the Brygians (Βρύγοι or Βρύγιοι, the European brothers of the Phrygians), whose traces Fick discovers not only in Macedonia but also in the western portion of the Balkan peninsula, e.g., in Epeiros; (2) the Illyrians, on both sides of the Adriatic Sea and, according to Fick, traceable to scattered regions in Greece proper; (3) Thracians "in Thessaly, Phokis, and Attica (Eleusis)."

This classification seems in itself plausible enough and is to a certain extent substantiated by outside evidence. If accordingly, however, we expect to find a clear-cut distinction in the pre-Hellenic nomenclature between Indo-European and Hittite names, we probably shall be disappointed. If it is often difficult to decide whether a locality bears a Hellenic or non-Hellenic name, the decision is still more difficult as to the Indo-European or foreign origin of the non-Hellenic material. Moreover, "Hittite" names are found not infrequently in regions assigned by Fick to Danubian (i.e., Indo-European) settlers. The Kydonians, e.g.,

of Western Crete are counted by Fick<sup>1</sup> among the Danubian tribes, yet among the Kydonian names is recorded that of the mountain *Βερέκυνδος*, containing the suffix *-νδ-*, one of the characteristic elements of *Hittite* names. The difficulty may be obviated in various ways. We may assume, e.g., with Fick (*Vorgr. Ortsnamen* 149) that the Kydonian tribe presents a mixture of Indo-European and Hittite elements. The fact, however, remains that a "Hittite" name is found here in a "Danubian" settlement, and the same conditions exist in the Balkan peninsula, where Fick (*Hatt. u. Dan.* 22 ff.) assumes a "Pelagonian-Pelasgian stratum" in Thracian and Illyrian regions. The question even may be raised whether we are allowed to regard Thracian and Phrygian, as is the fashion now, as Indo-European languages. I am ready to admit that among the Thracian names collected by Tomaschek in his treatise on "Die alten Thraker" (*Sitzber. d. Wiener Akad., Phil. hist. Kl.*, Vols. 128, 130, 131) there are many which bear a close similarity to Indo-European, especially to Slavic, proper names. We must not, however, overlook the fact that there are other Thracian names—and this probably applies to the majority of these names—that cannot be called any more Indo-European than, e.g., the majority of the Etruscan names. The Thracian language accordingly may be counted among the "mixed" languages. If we consider that the Indo-Europeans appear in the south of the Balkan peninsula as conquerors subduing an earlier foreign ("Hittite") population, there is no reason why Thracian and Phrygian should not be regarded as languages of the Hittite variety which, by a considerable admixture of Indo-European material, have gained the appearance of Indo-European or at least semi-Indo-European languages.

Matters are hardly different in regard to the Illyrian. This name is used by Fick so as to include the Messapian. But among the Illyrian and Messapian names mentioned by Fick (*V.O.* 142 ff., *Hatt. u. Dan.* 29–32) there are very few, if any, that seem to contain Indo-European elements. Nor can I convince myself that the question is settled in favor of the Indo-European by the Messapian inscriptions.

Fick, it seems to me, has to a certain extent obviated his own distinction between Hittites and Danubians by admitting (*V.O.* 142) the possibility of a mixture between (Hittite) Lelegans and (Indo-Eur.) Illyrians, and by assuming (*Hatt. u. Dan.* 22) a Hittite substratum ("Pelagonisch-Pelasgischer Untergrund") in Thracia and Illyria.

The question I am raising is perhaps of little practical consequence. Whether the answer be given the one way or the other, it cannot materially affect the validity of Fick's results, because these are not exclusively

<sup>1</sup> *Hatt. u. Danub.* 39. Fick has abandoned his former theory (*Vorgr. Ortsn.* 16 f.) that the Kydonians were immigrants from N.W. Asia Minor. In his present opinion, the Kydonians were an Illyrico-Thracian or, more particularly, a Brygian tribe, which found its way to Crete from the western shores of the Balkan peninsula.

based on linguistic evidence, but rather on ethnographical data, due attention having been given by Fick to historical traditions preserved by ancient authors, to the identity or similarity of geographical names in various parts of Greece (or of Greece and Asia), to the connection between mythological conceptions or religious cults, etc. In this respect, the present monograph serves as a continuation and supplement of the *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, with occasional modifications of sundry details (as, e.g., in regard to the immigration to Crete of the Kydonians).

A prominent place is given by Fick in both of his treatises to the island of Crete. (See *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen* 6-40, 125-127, and *Hatt. u. Dan.* 8-13 and 36-38.) The conditions, indeed, found in Crete are especially instructive, and it may be of interest, therefore, to compare Fick's results with those arrived at by Rich. Meister in his important treatise *Dorer und Achäer* (I. Teil) in the *Abhandlungen der K. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch., Phil. hist. Cl.*, Bd. XXIV, No. III (Leipzig, 1904). Meister's purpose, to be sure, is different from that of Fick. He does not concern himself primarily with pre-Hellenic but with early Hellenic conditions, and bases his conclusions not on proper names but on dialectic differences found in Greek inscriptions and literary sources. The principal question which Meister sets out to answer is the one: Who were the ancient Achaeans? and why is it that 'Αχαιοί serves at the earliest Greek period (e.g., in Homer) as a general designation of the Greeks? The ingenious manner in which the problem is solved recommends itself by its very simplicity.

Meister begins with showing that in the Laconian inscriptions, heretofore supposed to belong to one and the same dialect, two different varieties must be distinguished: (a) one exhibiting the well-known features common to most of the so-called Doric dialects; and (b) another characterized by the following phonetic peculiarities: (1) *h* instead of intervocalic *σ*, e.g., *νικάhas* = att. *νικήσας*; (2) *σ* instead of *θ*, e.g., *Σήριππος* = *Θήριππος*; (3) *δ* (initial) or *δδ* (intermediate) for *ζ*, e.g., *Δεύς* = *Ζεύς*; *γυμνάδδομαι* = *γυμνάζομαι*; (4) *β* instead of *φ*, e.g., *βοικέτας* = \**φοικέτās*, att. *οικέτης*; (5) *ι* instead of *ε* before *a*- and *o*-vowels, e.g., *σιός* = *θεός*. Meister proves that the difference between the two varieties goes hand in hand with (a) that of the original population which in consequence of the Doric immigration was reduced in Laconia to the condition of *περίοικοι* and *εἰλωτες*; and (b) that of the Doric conquerors, who settled in Sparta and its immediate vicinity as a privileged and strictly organized cast refraining from intermixture with the vanquished population. Similar conditions, as Meister points out, prevailed elsewhere in regions to which the Doric migration extended, e.g., in Argos.

The conclusion then seems unavoidable that the dialect which heretofore has gone under the general name of Doric (*θεός*, *νικάσās*, etc.) is

rather a pre-Doric language, viz., that of the Greek tribes subdued by the Doric invaders. It is these pre-Doric tribes that are called Ἀχαιοί by Homer, the Homeric poems in this as in other respects representing the conditions that prevailed in Greece at the time preceding the Doric invasion.

As regards the island of Crete in particular, Meister (pp. 61-97) is able to trace in the Cretan inscriptions the same difference between an Achæan and a genuine Doric dialect which he observed in Laconia. While in Laconia the Doric population is found in Sparta and its immediate vicinity, the Doric strongholds of Crete are formed by the two cities of Gortyn (together with the neighboring towns of Lebena, Phaistos, Inatos, Priansos) and Knosos in the center of the island. Of the five criteria characteristic of the Laconian Doric, at least four (i.e., Nos. 2-5) occur in the inscriptions of these cities in essentially the same manner (though not without differences in detail) as in Laconia. On the other hand: both the extreme eastern and the extreme western portions of the island agree—so far as the earlier pre-Hellenic dialects have not been preserved<sup>1</sup>—rather with the “Achæan” dialect of the pre-Doric population of the Peloponnesus. The transition from the Doric center to the Achæan extremities is a gradual one, there being found on either side of the central division a district more or less influenced by the Doric dialect of Gortyn and Knosos. As a result of Meister’s theory (or, as I would prefer to say, Meister’s discovery) the Cretan cities represented by Greek inscriptions may be assigned to five different zones, viz. (proceeding from west to east):

1. Western Crete (Kydonia): Polyrrhen, Kantanos, Elyros, Diktynnaiion, Kydonia, Aptara, Hyrtakina, Tarrha, Lappa.
2. Western transition zone: Sybrita, Sulia, Eleutherna, Vaxos, Rhaukos, Arkadia.
3. Central Crete: Gortyn with Lebena, Phaistos, Inatos, Priansos; Knosos (Knossos).
4. Eastern transition zone: Lyttos (Lyktos), Biannos, Malla, Dreros, Olus, Lato, Istron, Eronos (Erannos), Allaria.
5. Eastern Crete (the “Eteocretan” district): Itanos, Praisos (Prasos), Hierapytna, Oleros.

Notwithstanding the fact that the two scholars do not quite agree as to the interpretation of the term “Achæans,” the results at which Fick and Meister arrived, as it seems independently of each other, may be well made to agree. It is to be hoped that further light will be shed on the early ethnology of Crete and of Greece as a whole when the puzzling Minoan inscriptions, discovered by Dr. Evans, shall have been deciphered.

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<sup>1</sup>Compare on the Eteocretan inscriptions of Praisos: Meister, p. 62, on the non-Hellenic language of Kydonia, *ibid.*, p. 66.